A MODEL FOR EQUITABLE QUALITY OF LIFE IN THE RURAL PUNJAB: A REGIONAL APPROACH

by

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CHAPTER 1

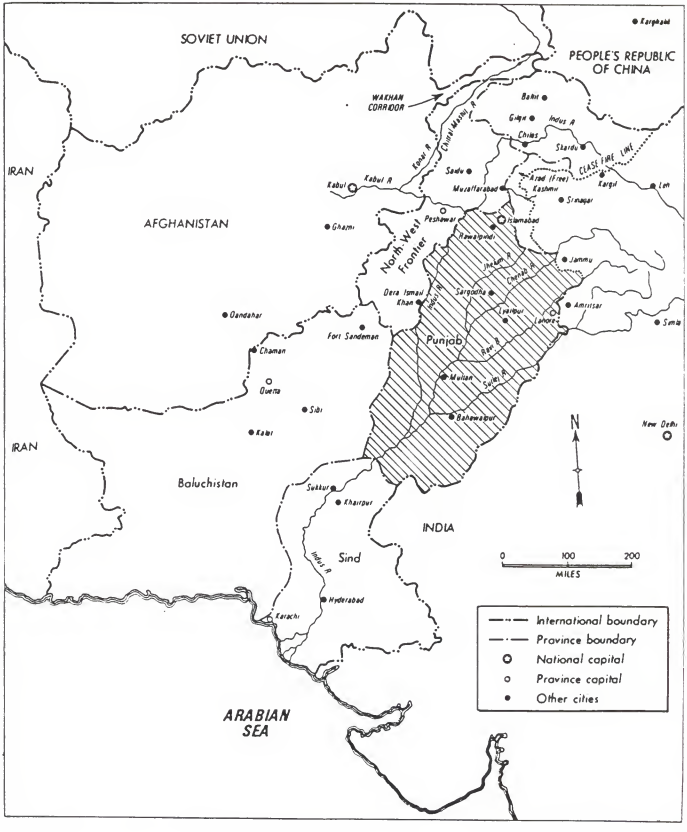
INTRODUCTION

The Background

Pakistan emerged on the map of the world on August 14, 1947, as a result of the partition of British India into two sovereign states. The Eastern wing of the country now known as Bangladesh, seceded in December 1971. Current-day Pakistan comprises of four provinces: Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier, the Punjab, and Sind. A map of Pakistan delineating the administrative subdivisions is shown in Figure 1.

The territories which now constitute Pakistan have witnessed the rise and fall of many civilizations dating back to 3000 B.C. The Indus Valley civilization left its marks in such cities as Harappa and Moenjo Daro. The Aryan invaders destroyed this civilization in about 1200 B.C. They supplemented their rule with their religion which came to be known as Hinduism. At the beginning of the eighth century A.D., the Muslims appeared for the first time in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. They settled at a small fishing village near the Indus delta not far from the present city of Karachi. Almost three centuries later, the Turks and Afghans became the spearhead of Islamic conquest in India, through the traditional routes of the northwest, mostly through the Khyber Pass. Mahmud of Ghazni (979-1030) included the Punjabs as a permanent part of his empire and Lahore

Figure 1. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan



developed as a muslim culture center. The early thirteenth century was the time of consolidation for the new Muslim sultanate of northern India centered in Delhi (1206-36). Within one hundred years most of the subcontinent had been conquered including Kashmir, Bengal, and the major part of the southern India. India in the early sixteenth century presented a fragmented picture. Babur laid the foundation of the great Mughal empire (1526-1857) which covered all but the southernmost tip. Mughal cultural achievements in art, architecture, courtly manners, and religious movements are still evident in the subcontinent. In 1757, the British defeated the Mughal viceroy of Bengal and got full control of Bengal. There is no doubt that long before 1857 the Mughal empire had lost a great deal of authority but with the fall of Delhi in that year, the Mughal empire came to an end. The British suppressed and humiliated the Muslims. As the Muslims were the rulers, the British were anxious to ensure that they should not be in a position to regain their lost authority and power. In 1885, the Indian National Congress was founded. Its primary objective was to look after the political interests of all the communities in India but with the increase in political activities, the muslims became increasingly disillusioned with it. In 1906, the All-India Muslim League was founded for the protection of the muslim rights and interests. The Government of India Act of 1935 provided complete autonomy to the provinces. Due to unjust policies and highhandedness of the Congress government, large-scale riots took place in which many Muslims lost their lives and properties. In the wake of this situation, the muslims rallied round the Muslim

League which soon became their representative body. After the observation of the Congress rule in the provinces, the muslim arrived at the conclusion that the only feasible alternative for the muslims was the establishment of a sovereign state of their own. At its annual session in Lahore on March 23, 1940, the League resolved that the areas of muslim majority in the northwest and in the northeast of India should be grouped to constitute independent states, autonomous and sovereign, and that no independence plan without this provision would be acceptable to the muslims. From 1940 reconciliation between Congress and the League became increasingly difficult. Muslim enthusiasm for Pakistan grew and became an objective fact in 1947.

The British established law and order mainly by military power and later by the imposition of a strong civil and administration. They recognized the right of private ownership in land which gave rise to the jagirdar (grant/gift holder) and zamindar (landlord) class. The right of the tenants was dependent on the will of the jagirdars and zamindars. The exclusiveness of the civil servants and the rural elites due to their assumption of innate superiority produced pychological effects on the public that succeeding bureaucracies have not yet been able to overcome.

In the Punjab province, about seventy-one percent of the population lives in the villages[1] but a majority of them are landless farmers and sharecroppers. In the Punjab, land represents the principal form of wealth and political power.

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1 Rafig Akhtar, ed., Pakistan Year Book 1982-83, (Karachi: East and West Publishing Company, 1982), p.8.

The challenge today is to reverse forces which have created dangerous social and economic dualism.

The Problems

The problems faced by the average rural dwellers in the Punjab are:

Land Tenure

The landlords have a strong hold over the social, economic, and political life. Most of the major political figures are the landlords. The tenants and the small landowners are the oppressed class in the Punjab. Although the tenants are legally protected, the landlords are so powerful and influential that they could simply expell a tenant.

The Fragmentation of land holding is also a problem. The division of the land among all legal heirs of a deceased person (sons, daughters, and wives) usually renders uneconomic units of cultivation. According to the Government of Pakistan definition, a subsistence unit of land consists of twelve and one-half acres of irrigated land. About eighty-five percent of the total number of farming units in the Punjab are below this limit.[2]

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[2]Charles E. Ratliff, Jr., "Rural Development in Pakistan" in Rural Development in Pakistan, ed. Richard A. Stanford (North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 1980), p. 138.

TABLE 1.1

FARM SIZE DISTRIBUTION, 1973

PUNJAB PROVINCE

Size of Farm in acres	Percent of farms	Percent of total area
Up to 12.5	85.0	43.2
Above 12.5 to 25	10.6	20.0
Above 25 to 50	3.4	13.2
Above 50 to 100	0.7	7.1
Above 100 to 150	0.3	6.3
Above 150	0.2	10.2

The agrarian structure of the Punjab has not changed substantially since independence. The two land reforms of 1959 and 1972 were primarily for the redistribution of land to small farmers and tenants but the reforms did not make a dent due to the high ceiling on the individual holding and the provision of exemption and transfers allowed to landlords.

Local Administration

Local bodies have existed in the country in one form or another but they have hardly proved an effective instrument of economic development. In highly 'top-down' administrative structure, all significant development activity is centered

at the district level. In the Punjab, a district has a population of between a million and a million and a half persons, and covers 1500 villages. The Deputy Commissioner heads a district.

At the lowest level the representative local government is the Union Council composed of three to four villages. The councilors are elected by direct adult franchise. Land holding patterns are reflected in the Union Council elections in that chairmen are almost invariably the biggest landowners in the area. The village community is divided in biradaris (caste) consideration. The political dominance of landed interests have never been challenged in Union council elections. However, cleavage and competition generally takes place along ethnic lines. The government programs aimed at improving the socio-economic conditions of the people proved ineffective due to inadequate participation of the rural masses in the decision-making process.

Urban Bias

Industry was virtually non-existent in Pakistan at the time of independence. The government wanted to diversify the economy. This encouraged the concentration of industries in big cities. Although the majority of the population lives in rural settlements the allocation of funds for rural development are less than one-fourth of the allocation for urban areas.[3] Most rural areas lack basic infrastructure.

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[3]Federal Bureau of Statistics; Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Statistical Yearbook, 1981, (Karachi, The Manager of Publication, 1982), p. 225.

The lukewarm attitude of the state bureacracy and the rural elite toward the improvement of the quality of life for the rural masses have given rise to secondary problems. Although the problem mentioned below is the effect of underdevelopment and inequality, this is also a significant problem and needs immediate attention.

Migration

There are two factors forcing youth to migrate out of the village. These factors could be called 'pull-factor' and 'push-factor'. The pull factor includes the promise or anticipation of better employment opportunities in the urban areas or even in the Middle East. The push factor includes many things like:

1) Small parcels of land which could not be cultivated economically;
2) Waterlogging and salinity converting the land to marginal fertility rendering it uneconomical to cultivate;
3) The educated person prefers to work in an office rather than be a farmer;
4) The abatement of traditional crafts;
5) Lack of infrastructure facilities like hospital, schools, clean drinking water, electricity, transportation and communication system is forcing people to move to urban areas where even in slums the conditions are better than most of the rural areas.

These problems are deep rooted and cannot be solved easily. However, the effort of the government and the people to be considerate for the others would help solve these problems.

Scope and Purpose of This Study

My aim in this study is to analyze the present land tenure and administrative structure in the Punjab province and its effects on the socio-economic conditions of the rural population. I shall review the important rural development programs carried out at different times throughout the history of Pakistan. The high degree of reliance on foreign aid in general and too much government assistance or guidance in rural development programs in particular, has caused the failure of many rural development programs in the Punjab. In this study, I emphasize a model based on self-reliance and phased reduction of dependency on aid.

Methodology of Study

A literature survey and analysis will be the principal method in preparing this study. Literature to be analyzed and evaluated includes among others:

a) Research done by various national and international organizations on various issues related to the rural development in the Punjab, Pakistan.

b) Demographic, social and economic information derived from various national and international agencies' publications for the Punjab, Pakistan.

c) Case studies and models of rural development in other developing and developed countries.

d) The agropolitan approach and its possible application in the Punjab, Pakistan. This model incorporates the ideas of self-management and basic needs. It is a political and a territorial conception.

The statistical information in this report is the most recent available. However, some recent statistics are not available to me, but I believe that this will not undermine the overall thrust of the policy recommendations.

Outline of Study

The chapters in the study are arranged in the following sequence:

Chapter two deals with the land reform measures adopted by the government and its failure to accomplish any measurable change in land ownership pattern supporting rural development.

Chapter three examines the present administrative structure and its role in assisting or hindering the rural development.

Chapter four deals with the past and present programs for rural development in the Punjab. These programs did not produce the anticipated results due to a centralized top-down planning approach, failure to learn from experience, and to rectify past mistakes.

Chapter five discusses various rural development models applied in the Punjab. The agropolitan model is also discussed in this chapter.

Based on the findings of the previous chapters, chapter six proposes a development policy for the rural Punjab.

Finally, chapter seven summarizes the conclusions and recommendations to future study.

CHAPTER 2

LAND TENURE SYSTEM AND LAND REFORMS IN THE PUNJAB

Land is the main source of the rural economy. Its distribution in different segments of the society has established a complex socio-culture and economic pattern which prevents the peasants from being organized.

History

The Mughal Period (1526-1857)

During the stable period of the Mughal rule, a farmer's position was that of a state tenant who paid rent for the usufruct of the land. Land revenue was collected for the ruler by his agents, assignees of large areas who were often among the influential individuals from the villages. This class of revenue farmers have been called zamindars (landlords). There was another class who were given the right to collect land revenue for themselves from peasants within a specified area for their services to the rulers, such as supplying troops in war. The assigned estates came to be known as jagirs (grants/gifts) and their holders as jagirdars. However, in the later stages of the Mughal rule, occupancy rights had assumed the attributes of private ownership in practice, mainly because of the erosion of central authority and with it the rise of contending claims to power.

The British Period (1857-1947)

The British had annexed the Punjab in 1849 under the East India Company rule even before formally overthrowing the symbolic Mughal rule. In order to create friends and loyal supporters among the enemy, the British recognized the right of private land ownership. These rights were recognized on large estates held by the jagirdars and the zamindars and on small pieces held by the ryot (peasant-cultivator). The British initially introduced cash revenue settlement which forced many small peasant-cultivators into debt to moneylenders who became landowners by acquiring land through alienation from those who could not bear the perpetual burden of debt. Under landlords, who were mainly absentee rent receivers, lease holding by the money lenders, who were mainly Hindus, also became an important feature of the land tenure system of the Punjab.[4] The right of tenants were not recognized in law or practice. Land tenure was tenuous, dependent upon the will of the jagirdars or the zamindars. The landlord's share varied between fifty and sixty percent of the gross produce and was paid in kind, which is known as batai (share). In addition, the landlords exacted from their tenants abwab and haboob (levies and perquisities) and also begar (free-labor).[5] The demand for agriculture products for industrial use in Britain required increased agricultural production. This was achieved in the Punjab in the last quarter

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[4]Mahmood Hassan Khan, Underdevelopment and Agrarian Structure in Pakistan, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1981), p. 129.

[5]Ibid, p. 129.

of the 19th century by establishing an extensive system of canal irrigation and by colonizing the waste lands. In these settlement schemes the landless tenants and village artisans were not the major beneficiaries. The British settlements gave birth to an economic and political system which could not get Indian society in general, and the peasantry in particular, out of the morass of backwardness. This system provided a measure of stability for colonial power to rule India.[6]

Independent Pakistan After 1947

The political party and the leaders who spearheaded the Pakistan movement and formed governments after independence were mostly the landlords. The creation of Pakistan increased the power of the landlords due to the departure of hindu money lenders and the British administrators. Many landowners gained additional lands, either by purchasing it at a nominal rate from fleeing hindus or by influencing the revenue officials. The Punjab had a predominantly landlord-tenants system in which only a small proportion of tenants enjoyed occupancy rights. The other land system, the owner-operated, was partly a product of British settlement and partly a result of land colonization schemes. The major problem of these farms, at least in the central and northern districts, was their increasing fragmentation.[7]

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[6]Ibid, p. 130.

[7]Ibid, p. 141.

Land Utilization in Pakistan and the Punjab

The total geographic area of Pakistan is 196.70 million acres. In the year 1976-77, 133.4 million acres was arable land. The cultivated areas however, were only forty-nine million acres. The remaining areas are either under forest or cultivable waste. The total area of the Punjab is fifty-one million acres. The cultivated area in the Punjab is twentyeight million acres. The pressure of population on cultivated land has increased. Cultivated area per person decreased from 0.9 acres in 1959-60 to 0.7 acres in 1976-77, in Pakistan and in the Punjab.[8]

Land Reforms in the Punjab

Although the landlords were the predominant group in the leadership of the Muslim League, the political rhetoric of the party included land reforms. Islam provided the political ideology. Islamic egalitarianism, justice, and brotherhood were the often repeated slogans on public plateforms.[9] The Punjab government was not willing to engage in land reform because it would directly affect the people in power. The maximum they did was the protection of the tenants against summary ejection. Another law of the Punjab government abolished revenue-free estates. The only change it brought about was that, like other zamindars, the jagirdars would pay land revenue to the state.

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[8]Ibid, p. 22.

[9]Ibid, p. 134.

Landlordism remained intact, for there was no limit to the area of land one could own as long as the owner paid legal dues (land revenue and water rates) to the government.[10]

Nation Wide Land Reforms Including the Punjab

The tension between the landlords and the tenants was increasing and the efforts to push a law through the legislature was not very successful. Therefore, the Federal Government promulgated the laws covering the entire country and these laws were Martial Law Regulations or Ordinances. The objectives of the land reforms were:[11]

1) Realization of social justice and to ensure the survival of values which brough Pakistan into existence;
2) Removal of institutional defects in the agrarian structure to raise agricultural production;
3) To increase production and truly lay down the foundations of a relationship of honour and mutual benefit to the landowner and tenants.

There were three land reforms in Pakistan which were enacted in 1959, 1972 and 1977. The reforms of 1959 prescribed 500 acres irrigated or 1,000 acres unirrigated or 36,000 Produce Index Units (PIUs), whichever was greater as the ceiling. The

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[10]Ibid, p. 142.

[11]Abdul Qayyum, "Policies and Implementation of Land Reforms: Macro-Level Study for Pakistan" in Land Reform: Some Asian Experiences, ed. Inayatullah (Kuala Lumpur: Asian and Pacific Development Administration Centre, 1980), p. 66-67.

compensation, in the form of bonds redeemable after twenty-five years, was paid for the excess land resumed.[12] In addition, an individual was allowed up to 150 acres (6,000 PIUs) as orchards, some area for homestead and could transfer up to 18,000 PIUs to his heirs and up to 6,000 PIUs each to his female dependents. The minimum ceiling with the exemptions would allow a landlord to retain in his family 2,000 to 3,000 acres of irrigated land.[13]

The tenants were given the first priority to purchase up to fifty acres. The small owners were also given the option to purchase the land to up grade their individual holdings to a "subsistance holding" (12.5 acres) or to an economic holding (25 acres). The tenants purchasing such land had to pay for it in twenty-five annual installments.

In 1972, the ceiling was reduced to 12,000 PIUs or 150 acres irrigated or 300 acres unirrigated land. No compensation was to be paid and the cultivating tenants were to be allocated the land without any price. All exemptions in favor of orchards, livestock, and stud farms and the like were eliminated. The only exemption was in favor of an owner who had adopted mechanization for whom a higher ceiling of 14,000 PIUs was permitted.[14]

The reforms of 1977 further reduced the ceiling to 8,000 PIUs or 100 irrigated acres or 200 unirrigated acres, whichever

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[12]Term used in Pakistan for the land surrendered by the landlords to be allocated to the landless.

[13]Khan, Under Development and Agrarian Structure in Pakistan, p. 158-159.

[14]Inayatullah, Land Reform: Some Asian Experiences, p. 69.

was greater. An important new feature was that compensation for surrendered land was provided in the form of bonds redeemable after ten years. However, the tenants were to continue to be granted the taken-over land free of cost.[15]

The grantees who became subsistence owners were only 0.83 percent of small farmers and the area they received was only 2.6 percent of the area under pre-existing small farmers.[16] These land reforms have not changed the landlord-tenant system and there is no visible change in the traditional social organization in the rural Punjab.

Summary

In the Punjab the land tenure system changed from the state tenant in the Mughal period to the right of private land ownership during the British period. This change created generally two classes in the rural Punjab, the landowners and the tenants. Only a small portion of tenants enjoyed occupancy rights while most of them were at the mercy of the landlords and could be ejected summarily without any right to defend themselves. The land reforms were aimed at removing the institutional defects in the agrarian structure and sought to lay down the foundation of a relationship of honour and mutual benefit, which eventually would raise agricultural production. The reforms had high ceilings on individual landholding and there were also exemptions allowing the landlords to retain in their families much more land than

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[15]Ibid, p.70.

[16]Ibid, p.79.

generally suggested by the ceiling prescriptions. In short, the reforms could not effectively change the landlord-tenant relationship.

CHAPTER 3

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The colonial system of administration established by the British had the primary purpose of collecting revenue and maintaining law and order. The gap between bureaucracy and the rest of the society was quite wide. It had authoritarian hierarchical control on the people through command and directives. The unit of operation was a district with a population between one to five million. The head of the district wields immense power and authority. In official terms he was a public servant, but in reality his behavior towards the people was paternalistic.

This very system continued after independence as the new state had tremendous problems of law and order and rehabilitation.[17] The efforts of the government of Pakistan to promote development through economic planning and large scale projects have not taken into consideration the basic social structure of the society. Rising per capita income, increasing administrative efficiency, and mounting political vitality may be regarded as the sign of development. The essence of development is increasing autonomy, the ability to choose among alternatives for more

[17] Inayatullah, "Local Administration in a Developing country: The Pakistan Case" in Development Administration in Asia, ed. Edward W. Weidner (Durham: Duke University Press, 1970), p. 282.

freedom, justice, security, and the basic integrity of man as a human being.[18]

The village is a terminal unit of administration having operational linkage with the federal, state, and local government. These three levels of the administrative units are both complementary and competitive to achieve different societal goals. The local government institutions in the Punjab can be classified into three categories.

1) Administrative organ
2) Cooperative organ
3) Private voluntary organ

Administrative Organ

This organ reaches the village and rural community through district, tehsil, union council, and village levels of government with their hierarchy of officials. For collection of government revenue and public administration the commissioners are located at the divisional level, the deputy commissioner at the district level, the tehsildar (head of tehsil level civil administration) at the tehsil level, and the patwari (revenue collecting officer) at the village level. The patwari is assisted by a numberdar (headman) and a chokidar (watchman) of the village. Similarily, the police administration has a superintendent of police at the district level and a station house officer (S.H.O.) at the

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[18]Fred W. Riggs, "The Ideas of Development Administration", in Development Administration in Asia, ed. Edward W. Weidner (Durham: Duke University Press, 1970), p. 27.

thana level. Several thanas comprise a tehsil. The tehsil headquarters is located in important townships and localities. Similarly, health, education, cooperative, agriculture, irrigation, animal husbandry, and other development departments of the government have their links established with the village through their district, subdivisional or tehsil, and village level officials. Depending upon the extensiveness of the contracts that must be established with local residents and the job responsibilities of various department offices, government officials are located in villages and at the respective headquarters of thanas, union councils, tehsils, and/or districts.

Cooperative Organ

Rural cooperatives were started during the British period to encourage mutual help, thrift, and gradual accumulation of capital by the corporization. They have been utilized for organizing farm services and for dealing with the market and the government.

Private Voluntary Organ

Some farmers and their families form informal associations to help each other in their jobs. They save some money by a nominal contribution by each member every week or so. Women usually are very active in this, which helps buy bigger home items or farm equipment. These organizations are quite scattered and transitory, though sometimes they are quite active and effective.

District Administration and Socio-Economic Development

There are twenty-one districts in the Punjab[19] varing in size, population, topography, and their level of industrialization and urbanization. Three or four districts grouped together make a division. The districts are created primarily for the purpose of revenue administration. A district has normally thirty-two departments including civil administration, development departments, and welfare organizations. Some reforms carried out in 1955 and 1962 decentralized administrative functions by creating some semi-autonomous public corporations in the fields of industry, agriculture, water and power development, and transportation.[20]

Local Self-Government

The System of Basic Democracies

The existence of the punchayat (seeking agreement through consultation) system of village administration is very old in the Punjab. The British government attempted to develop village councils. Punchayats must be constituted with petty civil and criminal jurisdiction and responsibility for village sanitation, education, and minor public works. In the Punjab, this reform was introduced through the Punjab Punchayats Act of 1912. However, it was not until after World War I that this legislation became

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[19]Government of Pakistan, Population Census organization, Housing and Population Census of Pakistan (Provisional Tables) 1980-81, 1981, p. 3-4.

[20]Inayatullah, Development Administration in Asia, p. 307.

effective. Despite some good work the punchayats failed to create a sense of belonging for the villagers. In 1930, the emphasis was shifted to rural reconstruction and uplift. This emphasis was the predecessor of the community development program. The program achieved some success in material terms but the growth of local level democratic institutions could not happen due to strong district administration. The promise of the emergence of political responsibilities at the local level thus remained unfilfilled, and local bodies, especially in rural areas were hardly more than a mere appendage of the district administration. Even after the creation of Pakistan, the colonial attitude of administration remained unchallenged. The formal and informal contacts between the district administration and the public were limited and were circumscribed by a psychological environment which did not permit two way communication. Whatever little communication existed was through the upper rural class whose interests did not always harmonize with the remaining rural society.

Pakistan's Village Agricultural and Industrial Development (V-AID) in 1954 was the first attempt to draw villagers into the policy orientation and local decision-making process. The process was later institutionalized through the structure created in the Basic Democracies Order of 1959. Tiers of local councils corresponding to the fourfold distribution of administrative levels were established as a setting within which government administrators and a limited number of elected representatives were able to meet to work out joint planning and implementation

of development goals. The lowest rung of the ladder is the union council which consists solely of elected officials. Some of their chairmen are appointed to the higher tiers of councils at the tehsil, district, and divisional levels. The Union Council consists of ten to twelve members elected by adult franchise. The union councils have a number of functions both compulsory and optional. Councils perform routine civic duties such as street lighting and sanitation, building of roads, dispensaries, and engage in the promotion of agricultural and other local development activities. The chairman and some members further act as a tribunal to settle petty local disputes and offenses. The chairman also administers the Family Law Ordinance which regulates divorce and second marriages. The union council enjoys the power of local taxation.[21]

The Rural Cooperatives

Pakistan's experience with cooperatives in areas other than credit has been mixed but hardly successful in solving rural problems. The cooperative organizations claim to have utilized public and private funds to provide infrastructure such as roads, irrigation, and storehouses. Nevertheless, a comparison with similar, and often better, developments in the surrounding villages that fall outside the scope of these cooper-

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[21]Norman K. Nicholson and Dilawar Ali Khan, Basic Democracies and Rural Development in Pakistan, (Ithaca, Rural Development Committee, Cornell University, 1974), p. 77.

atives leads one to treat these claims with caution.[22] Service cooperatives under the control of the union council chairmen have, however, succeeded in popularizing the use of chemical fertilizer during early 1960's. The success of cooperative in pilot projects can not be seen as acceptance of these organizations by the rural society. In view of the individualistic nature of the farm population when involved in any formal economic undertaking, especially in the Punjab, and in light of the capitalistic orientation that has emerged from several generations of commercialized agriculture, cooperatives do not seem well suited to the Pakistani ethos.[23]

Politics of Administration

Whether under democratically elected governments or the military government, the real power has always been in the hands of the civil bureacracy. The four powerful actors of the socio-economic and political realm in Pakistan are bureaucrats, military, urban elites engaged in commerce and industry, and rural landed elites. The people (masses) never had the chance of controlling their own affair. These four classes mentioned above are interconnected by the membership of some clubs, other social organizations, and even marriages. Their mutual interest is to keep their control on decision making institutions . They tend to resist any reforms under the pretext of slump in

[22] Ibid, p. 82.

[23] Ibid, p. 84.

the growth or the internal or external danger to the integrity of the country. If they must concede to any reform, they have tremendous ability to delay the implementation and thwart the reform.

Summary

The people of the Punjab in general and rural people in particular are suppressed people and they have no input in the decision taken by the administration for their 'welfare'. The Basic Democracies system of the election at the union council level provided them a small outlet to express their opinion. Although almost invariably bigger landowners were elected as the chairmen whose interests were different from the general people but still there were nominated civil servants to control the Union, Tehsil and District Councils. Even this seemingly harmless experiment was not acceptable to the bureacracy and there were no election or reformation of the councils since 1965. The latest election of the council was held in 1979. The author has no access to the results of these elections to know the socio-economic and political background of the elected representatives. There is very little possibility that these elections would be any different from the previous ones.

The bureaucracy is faithfully guarding the colonial legacy of paternalism by keeping the people out of any decision making process. Military, capitalist, socialist, or religious political affiliation of the ruling party does not seem to make any dent in this policy.

CHAPTER 4

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PUNJAB

A review of the earlier approaches to rural development may provide some guidelines and lessons for future efforts in this direction. A brief overview of these programs is, therefore, provided below:

Village Aid (1952-1969)

The village Agriculture and Industrial Development Program (V-AID) launched in 1952 was supported with the U.S. assistance in the form of training, personnel, and supplies. The development areas had a population of about 100,000 and a staff of between twenty-five and thirty village workers. Work under the program consisted of organizing the people, building physical infrastructure and the dissemination of improved agricultural practices.

Multisubject village level workers provided technical guidance. The village - AID program had an edge over the line departments in terms of staff and facilities, and was comprehensive enough to cover different aspects of rural life. This led to serious interdepartmental rivalries. The village aid worker was to rely on the technical assistance of the line departments but such assistance was very rare. The village aid workers were not given the status and security associated with a permanent position and therefore, the technical departments and high civil

servants were in a strong position to sabotage the village programs. The village aid program also lacked clear goals and objectives and with the passage of time it became more and more involved with agriculture, but still was ill equipped to give adequate attention to agricultural development. The technical requirements were beyond the technical competence of the poorly trained village level worker who was, unfortunately, also not well supported by the line department.

Despite the limitations of staff and interdepartmental jealousies, Village-AID did achieve some success in the provision of social and physical infrastructure and aroused community interest in development activities. Its gains were not equitably distributed primarily because of the unequal distribution of land and heavy administrative control shifting the balance towards rural elite. The program was abolished in 1961, primarily on account of the withdrawal of U.S. aid.

Basic Democracies

The program was started in 1959 to combine the element of community development with political development and to create representative local bodies at four different levels. The lowest unit was a union council consisting of a group of contiguous villages. There were about ten elected members in a union council who elected a chairman from among themselves. The higher level of the councils (Tehsil Council, District Council, and Divisional Council) were dominated by the nominated or official members.

At the district and divisional council level even the elected representatives (elected to a lower level council) had to be nominated for their membership in these councils.

The union councils performed various socio-economic development activities, primarily education, agriculture, health and sanitation, and the provision of infrastructure like roads. The union councils were given some limited judicial and taxation powers. The four tiers of local government were hierarchically arranged and the higher tier enjoyed regulatory powers over the lower one in development function. The projects were initiated at the union council level and approved at the district level, though they were submitted through the Tehsil Council. The deputy commissioner was the chairman of the District Council and half of the members of the council were the district level officers of various departments who were under his direct authority. Even the elected members of the District Council were selected by the deputy commissioner from the list of the recommended persons by the chairmen of the Tehsil Councils. The chairmen of the Tehsil Council was the sub-divisional officer, an appointed official. Under such circumstances only those programs which had the blessing of the deputy commissioner could be approved and implemented. The target fixing was often characterized by the top-down approach, with elected members frequently coming from the rural elites. People's participation was merely confined to voting and electing their councillors. The activities of the councillors were marred by personal greed and factionalism based on caste groups.

The union councils were however, quite effective in settling local disputes. Nicholson and Dilawar reported settlement of 5,994 civil cases and 2,757 criminal cases during 1963-64 by a sample of 397 union councils in various parts of the country.[24]

Agriculture Development Corporation (1961-1972)

The Agricultural Development Corporation was set up in 1961 for the development of agriculture. The Board of Directors of the Corporation was a management body, responsible for the implementation of programs and policies already determined either by the provincial or central government. This was carried out in line with the centralized planning adopted by the government of Pakistan. All the development projects were sent to the provincial government and planning commission. After their approval and the allocation of funds, the development schemes were put into practice, which, it appears, negated the principles of flexibility and freedom underlying the establishment of the Agricultural Development Corporation.

The 'project areas' declared by the corporation were the areas allotted to the military and civilian bureaucracy as a reward for their meritorious service to the nation. The local population naturally had the feeling of alienation. A large percentage of people who had been working in the corporation were deputationists (official of a department delegated to serve

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[24]West Pakistan Union Councils: Evaluation Report 1964-65, cited by Abdul Salam, Rural Development and Local Leval Planning in Pakistan (Nagoya: United Nation Centre for Regional Development 1982), p. 19.

in another department or organization) from other departments who brought with them old values and practices which were not in tune with the requirement of development.[25]

The corporation succeeded in establishing an effective supply line of fertilizer and seed through its sale depots. It introduced and encouraged the entrance of private enterprise in these ventures. It also succeeded in the development of land which had been laying idle for considerable periods.

However, the corporation was another arm of bureaucracy, which primarily confined its activities to the provision of agricultural inputs and management of state farms, thus having all the characteristics of a top-down organization.[26] In 1972, the Agricultural Development Corporation was abolished and a similar organization, the Agricultural Supplies Corporation was started.

Integrated Rural Development Program

The Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP) in Pakistan was launched in 1972. The underlying philosophy of the program is that all aspects of rural life are integrated. The IRDP is meant to establish institution of local government and administration. The IRDP markaz (center) would become the basic unit of local government administration. Each village selects a leadership council through elections. The local government institutes, like the village and union councils, were not functioning

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[25]Ibid, p. 21.

[26]Ibid, p. 21.

until 1979. The markaz is now a representative organization for about five union councils. The leadership of 50-60 then confederate to form the IRDP center. There are twenty-one districts in the Punjab, which has a population of about forty-seven million.[27] Each markaz covers about 100,000 cultivated acres and perhaps about 100,000 people.[28]

The IRDP approach is to appoint a local project manager through whose office all government department activities are to be funnelled and coordinated so as to reach the rural farmers. Whenever a farmer comes to the facility for his requirement for seed, fertilizer, implements, tractor services, irrigation, credit; he does not have to go to one place for one service and another place for another service. They are all available to him there at the project facility.

A most important aspect of IRDP is to involve the people themselves in the development process. In this regard a system of multi-purpose cooperative societies has been established at the village level, and administered through the IDRP centers. The chairman of each society is elected by the society members. The manager is a paid public servant appointed by provincial development authority.

The uniformity of the programs undertaken in different IRDP centres reveal very little true participation of people

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[27]Government of Pakistan, Housing and Population Census of Pakistan, 1980-81, p. 1.

[28]Muhammed Naseem, "The Role of Local Institutions in Rural Development" in Rural Development in Pakistan ed. Richard A. Stanford, (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1980) p. 77.

in decison making and it remained basically an official top-down activity. Also cooperative societies are considered to be ineffective, graft ridden and cliquish organizations. They have very little credibility among people.[29]

People's Works Program

The People's works program was launched in 1972 with two basic objectives of providing infrastructure and reducing unemployment of the rural masses. Small labor intensive projects were launched to achieve these objectives.

The projects undertaken by the People's Works program were small and widely scattered, therefore the impact of the program is not very visible. The program however, satisfied some local needs such as roads and water supply.[30]

Rural Development Organization

The IRDP and PWP have been merged and the resultant institution is named Rural Development Organization. With the participation of the union councils, the responsibility of this new organization, created in 1977, is to undertake programs related to farm-to-market roads, drinking water supply, primary education, basic health facilities, and village sanitation.[31]

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[29]Salam, Rural Development and Local Level Planning in Pakistan, p. 22.

[30]Ibid, p. 23.

[31]Akhtar, ed. Pakistan Year Book, 1982-83, p. 332.

This new institutional framework is based on a three-tier system. At the lowest level there is the union council with about ten villages. The middle tier is markaz with about fifty to a hundred villages, while the district council forms the coordinating tier. With the purpose of securing popular participation in the rural development activities, the elections to the local bodies were held in September 1979.[32]

Conclusion

A perusal of various programs implemented reveal that successive programs have not benefitted from the experience of previous ones and a sense of continuity has therefore been missing. Every new program tried to reflect a sharp break with the past in order to claim credit for the new developments, which may not be a healthy precedent to set in the complex and painful process of development. All these programs, invariably, suffered from top-down and centralized planning reflected in the uniformities of various activities undertaken. These programs failed to set up effective local level institutions through which people could articulate their demand and actively participate in planning and implementing various projects.[33]

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[32]Ibid, p. 333.

[33]Salam, Rural Development and Local Level Planning in Pakistan, p. 24.

CHAPTER 5

RURAL DEVELOPMENT THEORIES AND MODELS

In the Punjab, before and after independence, there has always been some rural development agency with a mandate and sufficient funds for initiating rural development. The objectives of rural development in all the "Five-Year Plans" of the Government of Pakistan included among others "to create an institutional framework for ensuring community participation in the implementation of the Rural Development Programme".34 The government intended to reduce and in the long run eliminate major income inequalities among different regions. Various theories and models tried in the Punjab are listed in the following text.

Central Place Theory

Walter Christaller, in suggesting this theory stated that "the chief Profession of a town is to be the center of

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34 Government of Pakistan, Planning Commission, 5th Five Year Plan 1980-85, 1978, p. 185.

a region."[35] The theory refers to the 'functions' located in the central places that are completely determined by local demand. It specifically refers to the retail center, not wholesale functions, manufacturing, mining or related activities.

The settlement pattern during the Mughal period was influenced by the creation of the saraey (Inn) towns which were the bastions of the area chiefs. They were established to maintain law and order, insure uninterupted movement of mail, and exchange goods and services. The Mughals developed an extensive road system and a saraey existed every twenty to thirty miles. The condition of 'perfect competition' was satisfied by the flat land and agrarian economy. There were only a few large cities, quite widely separated, offering high order goods and services.

The introduction of the civil and military bureaucracy by the British and the division of the Punjab into administrative units; Division, District, and Tehsil changed the previous pattern. The town which was the administrative seat provided opportunities for economic specialization. Another very important change which disturbed the perfect competitive condition and helped the evolution of the marketing system was the introduction of the railroad in the Punjab. England needed raw material. To facilitate their collection and transportation, many market towns were established at the railroad terminals. This condition

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[35]Frank W. Young, Interdisciplinary Theories of Rural Development, (London: JAI Press Inc., 1983), p. 66. For full reference, see Walter Christaller, Central Places in Southern Germany, trans. Carlisle W. Baskin (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1966.)

of imperfect competition form a pattern of 'solar' central places. The lower-level centers are not interstitially placed as they are in competitive central place hierarchies, so the market areas tend to be elliptic. Due to the political and economic control the trade flows to one large market.

After colonization, the British took away the powers of the local chiefs and did not involve them in the administration. These chiefs lost administrative power but still they commanded authority and power among their people. In order to make use of their status, the British made them the owners of land and gave them power over the tenants and sharecropper. According to Weber, the domination of the society by an elite stratum leads to the stratification of differences among groups in the society.[36] The elites (landowners) often lived in the market town and the peasants lived in the villages. The superior knowledge available to the urban elites help them to maintain their position. The central place advocate thought that pinpointing the crucial market town and investing in it would bring development to the whole region. Theoretically it might be correct but it has not proved to be correct in the Punjab. Dual economy and the elites were dominant to subvert reforms for the development of rural areas.

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[36]Craig R. Humphrey and Fredrick R. Buttel, Environment, Energy, and Society, (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1982), p. 16. For details see Max Weber, Essays in Sociology, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 302-322.

Rational-Comprehensive Planning

The advocates of Rational-Comprehensive planning believe that the technician and planners are the only persons capable of solving any problem. Synoptic planning typically looks at problems from a systems viewpoint, using conceptual or mathematical models relating ends (objectives) to means (resources and constraints), with heavy reliance on numbers and quantitative analysis. Synoptic planning largely ignores or avoids issues of conflict by referring to a unitary concept of public interest.[37]

In the Punjab, the political struggle for independence by the landlords and the control of turmoil by establishing law and order after independence by the civil and military bureaucrats earned much respect and legitimized their roles. The security interest in view of the threats from India lead to the concentration of power among bureaucrats. The political instability and the power struggle among the political leaders in fact shifted the balance of power in favor of the bureaucrats and they became the real rulers in the Punjab. The politicians and the bureaucrats were interested in developing the country through efficiency in production. Equality in distribution was thought to be inefficient. It was believed that with the growth in the economy the distributive question will not surface. The doctrine of unequal development made way for the adoption of the Spatial-Functional policy of development.

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[37]Barclay M. Hudson, "Comparison of Current Planning Theories: Counterparts and Contradictions" JAIP 45:4 (October 1979): 393.

Spatial-Functional Policy

During the 1950s and 1960s the government economic policy was primarily concerned with the industrialization program. With the importation of large quantities of wheat the government held farm prices down in order to stem inflationary pressure. The subnational territorial unities were dissolved in 1955 making the West Pakistan into 'One Unit' instead of four provinces, the Punjab, the N.W.F.P., Sind, and Baluchistan. By the middle of the 1960s the rate of economic growth was more than double the rate of population growth. However, rural income disparities have increased considerably.[38] The urban based industrialization was believed to create enough employment even to change the man-land ratio in the rural areas which would lead to modernization of the rural areas. This all out race for industrialization paved the way for the entry of multi-national corporations in Pakistan. The industries were concentrating in Karachi (Sind) and Lahore (Punjab) in the corridor development pattern along major transportation routes, sometime leading up to forty miles. The tax incentives and other favors to the industrialists, raised the GNP but the balance was in their favor. The natural outcome of capitalist development was concentration of wealth, the polarization of social classes, and the growth of class consciousness. This was the beginning stage of revolution which lead to the

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[38]Robert D. Stevens, "Themes in Economic Growth and Social Changes in Rural Pakistan: An Introduction" in Rural Development in Bangladesh and Pakistan, ed Robert Stevens, Hamiza Alvi, Peter J. Bertocci, (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1976), p. 193.

separation of the East Pakistan and dismembering of the 'One Unit' in West Pakistan in 1970-71. Pakistan in general and the rural areas in particular, were presenting the picture of the 'peripheries' dependent on 'core' regions of the developed countries and the developed urban areas.

Dependency Theory

Douglass North[39] formulated and Export-Base Model in which two regions traded with one another. One region being the exporter of the consumer goods and the other of the primary goods. It is theorized that the economic growth of the primary producer is induced by the existing demand in the economically more powerful region. Andre Gunder Frank[40] referred to the economic relations between the metropolis and its economic colonies and named it "The Development of Underdevelopment". Dependency Theory explains the way a few capitalist countries have been able to limit and control the economies of a great many dependent countries. The theory shows that such relations also exist within a country or region where the 'core' dominates the periphery through the power of the bureaucracy and the elites. The hinderance in the effective implementation of the land reforms and the provision of infrastructural utilities and facilities in the

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[39]Douglas C. North, "Location Theory and Regional Economic Growth" in Regional Policy: Reading in Theory and Applications, ed. John Friedmann and William Alonso (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1975), pp 332-347.

[40]A.G. Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment" in Imperialism and Underdevelopment, ed. Robert I. Rhodes (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), pp 4-17.

rural Punjab is the manifestation of such dominance. The much talked of 'Green Revolution' helped in increasing the overall yield per acre but the balance was in favor of big landowners. They had easy access to inputs like capital, machinery, water, fertilizer, pesticides and herbicides.

The logic of unequal development was based on the belief that the growth impulses would spread from the major centers to the remainder of the economy. This focus on polarized development and trickle down affects lead to the doctrine of growth centers and growth poles.

Growth Pole Policy

The idea of the growth centers originated with Francois Perroux whose original notion of growth pole was intended to convey a non-spatial polarization of the economy which had a great deal in common with the problems of inter-industry linkage and multiplier effects.[41] The policy is based on the observation that larger cities are the vehicles of regional growth in European countries. The idea is that the industries which have high growth potential are likely to stimulate other secondary industries to have an impact on a metropolitan city and its hinterland. The process of development is one of trickling down or spread effects. This theory has been widely applied in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In Pakistan, Karachi, Lahore and Hydrabad

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[41]Frank W. Young, Interdisciplinary Theories of Rural Development, pp. 55-58. For full details of growth poles see, Francis Perroux, "Notes on the Concept of 'growth poles' in Regional Economics ed. David McKee et al. (New York: Free Press, 1970), pp. 93-103.

assumed status of the growth centers. The basic idea is that declaring a certain city or town as the growth center and injecting investment in the form of infrastructure and industries would help enhance development in less developed regions. Working on this assumption, the government of the Punjab built four new cities in the relatively less developed region of the Punjab. The industries, like cement, sugar, fertilizer, pesticides, and textiles were established to make use of the raw materials and the produce of these regions. This did not alter the growth pattern. Karachi and Lahore were attracting capital and human resource while the new towns were stagnant and were surviving on government grants and assistance. The only change that these new towns and industry brought was the migration of some people from rural areas to these new settlements. The government of the Punjab has not learned anything from this failure. Instead they have extended the growth pole doctrine to the rural areas by the establishment of the markaz in some designated towns. As earlier discussed in chapter four the markaz centers are not helping to diffuse development in the rural areas.

The efforts of the past thirty-seven years after independence to develop and improve the quality of life for the masses based on synoptic planning and spatial-functional policy have resulted in separation of East Pakistan, breaking of the 'One Unit', and billions of dollars in debts. The poor and landless are the worst sufferers in the rural Punjab, although the condition of small farmers is not any better. It is time that serious consideration be given to socio-economic development with the

people as the prime actors and recipients of the benefits. The planning and implementation of rural development programs should involve adequate regional planning, strong central coordination, effective local level organization, and the participation of rural people in the planning and implementation processes.

The bureaucratically dominated schemes may have increased the GNP but they have plunged the country into deep dependency. The development program for the peasant farmers has not reached the target people. Aid and subsidies could produce dependents and parasites, but not the people who have self respect and esteem to better their social and physical conditions. The government should change its policy of command, centralized control, and project implementation. The government should umpire, guide, facilitate and promote the participation of the rural people to organize themselves for their own better future.

Friedmann and Weaver have proposed a new theory called the Agropolitan Approach.The agropolitan theory has not been tried yet but the author feels that there is a possibility that its application could resolve the problems discussed in chapter one. The salient features of the theory are listed below.

Agropolitan Theory

This theory focuses on the issues of meeting the basic needs of the rural people through a transactive planning approach involving the people in the decision-making process. The development should be organized on a territorial basis, making efforts to expand and diversify the production resources. Friedmann and

Weaver state that suitable condition for the application of the policy is:

> "densely populated agrarian societies characterized by low profiles of social development, high rate of population increase, incipient urban-based industrialization, high external dependency and rising indices of inequality."[42]

The major elements of the agropolitan approach are:

1) The Basic Conditions For its Realization
2) The Territorial Framework
3) The Expansion of Production
4) The Role of the State

The Basic Conditions

Selective territorial closure, commercialization of productive wealth, and the equalization of the access to the bases for the accumulation of social power are the three conditions essential to successful agropolitan development.

Selective Territorial Closure

This refers to a policy of enlightened self-reliance at a relevant level of territorial integration: district, region and a nation. Self-reliance means to rely less on outside aid and investment, to involve the masses in development, to initiate a conscious process of social learning, to diversify production,

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[42]Friedmann and Weaver, Territory and Function: The Evolution of Regional Planning, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), p. 194.

and to pool resources.[43] It is an expression of faith in the abilities of a people to guide the forces of their own evolution. It means to rely less on outside aid and investment, to involve the masses in development, to initiate a conscious process of social learning.[44]

The Communalization of the Productive Wealth

The use of land and the water which are principal means of production in a rural area should be controlled by the community to meet the basic needs of its members. The benefit should be divided equally for everyone in the community.[45]

The Equalization of Access For
The Accumulation of Social Power

The people should be involved on the basis of equality in decision making about the social and economic affairs of their community.

The Territorial Framework

The agropolitan districts may be demarcated on the basis of common cultural, political, and economic attributes. Agropolitan districts are the smallest of these territorial units that are still capable of providing for the basic needs of their inhabitants with only marginally important resource transfers from outside.

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[43]Ibid, p. 195.

[44]Ibid, p. 195

[45]Ibid, p. 195

This district may be designated to have a total population of between 15,000 and 60,000.[46]

The Expansion of Production

Strengthening the territorial ecomony by self-reliance in the management of economic affairs and diversifying the territorial economy. Diversification in rural agropolitan districts will, at a minimum, require electric energy, radio and telephone communication, regular water supply, and year-round all-weather transport to other areas.[47]

The Role of the State

The role of the State is protective, developmental, facilitative, regulatory and redistributive. It is protective by securing territorial boundries; developmental by coordinating national policies for the benefit of each agropolitan district; facilitative through its own resources to support; regulatory by maintaining the critical balances within the system of social relationships; and redistributive that it takes the surplus resources from rich districts to equalize redevelopment possibilities in less favoured areas.[48]

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[46]Ibid, p. 197.

[47]Ibid, p. 198.

[48]Ibid, p.203.

Summary

The agropolitan theory with its stress on decentralization of decision making process, reliance on indigenous human and material resources, and gradual relaxation of elite control through diversification of economic base provides promising prospects for the improvement of the quality of life for the rural masses in the Punjab.

CHAPTER 6

PROPOSALS FOR THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PUNJAB

The foregoing discussion on the administrative structure, land tenure system, and the programs and policies of the government towards rural development has revealed that in order to have an equitable quality of life for the rural Punjab, there is need to alter not only the land tenure system but the entire social structure, including bringing about administrative decentralization. Democratically constituted local political authorities capable of speaking for and acting on behalf of local people will gradually bring about the change in the social structure. Although the land reforms are not a prerequisite to the application of the agropolitan model but the author feels that equitable distribution of land will greatly enhance the process of change and the development of rural areas.

Land Reform

The need is to reduce drastically the concentration of land ownership, to regulate the tenancy rights on land, and to develop a support system to make new owners economically viable and socially stable. The concept of private property is deeply embedded in Islamic ideology therefore, the communal

ownership by the state would not be accepted even by the landless sharecropper.

The ceiling of individual and family ownership should be defined in the produce index units (PIUs) for various regions based on the fertility of the land. The family unit should also be defined as a household consisting of husband, wife or wives, and minor children. The adult children, especially if they are married should not be included. The family holding should not be more than twice the size of the individual holding. This will create some incentive for smaller families. Also related to land ceiling are exemptions and allowances. As a matter of policy, no private individual or organization should be given exemption in any form.

The yield of wheat and all other major crops is increasing per unit of area in the Punjab because of the use of improved varieties of seeds, the use of chemical fertilizer, and pesticide.[49] In view of this, it would be safely deduced that the area of land which was subsistence unit (12.5 acres) in 1959 might have become profitable in the eighties. It is therefore suggested that the ceiling of the individual holdings should be twenty-five acres of irrigated land and fifty acres of rain fed land. The family ownership should be twice the size of individual holding. A landholding of twenty-five acres might appear small, but it

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[49]Khan, Under Development and Agrarian Structure in Pakistan, p. 63.

is five times as large as a subsistence holding for an owner cultivator.[50]

The tenant's lease period should be extended from one year to five years to provide security against summary evictions. The share of the landlord and tenants in gross produce should be half and half. The landowner however, should be responsible for the payment of water charges, equipment, and all taxes and levies claimed by the state.

In six countries in Asia, the ceiling on the ownership of land is not very high. In some parts of India it is as low as two hectares (1 Hectare = 2.5 acres approximately). In Sri Lanka, twenty-five acres is the limit. In the Philippines, the limit is seven hectares. Bangladesh has fixed the land ceiling at 33.3 acres, and in Korea the ceiling was fixed at three hectares.[51]

Administrative Reforms

The bureaucracy in Pakistan has enjoyed unchallenged positions because they are better educated than the politicians and the politicians are dependent on bureaucrats for securing favours for their supporters. The bureaucracy has a tremendous amount of state resources at its disposal by occupying all the strategic, politically sensitive, and prestigious posts in the

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[50] Alavi, "The Rural Elite and Agricultural Development in Pakistan" in Rural Development in Bangladesh and Pakistan, p. 339.

[51] Injatullah, "Concluding Review" in Land Reform: Some Asian Experiences, p.394-96.

government. The bureaucracy has created a system which elevates the generalist above the professional expert creating discrimination and classification. Thus in both policy formulation as well as in implementation, the bureaucracy in Pakistan played a more decisive role than politicians holding formal ministerial positions in the government, and it is precisely for this reason that class character and the role of the bureaucracy needs to be clearly delineated.

The present civil administration has both administrative and judicial powers. There is therefore, an urgent need to separate these functions. At the Union Council or the markaz level, the line departments should have their representative but their role should be advisory. The managerial positions occupied by the generalists of the bureaucracy should be abolished. The elected representative should be the manager in the 'bottom-up' process of organizational development. The farmers should assume the major responsibilities for planning and constructing physical facilities. Such changes are difficult and complex and they take years to complete, but they are possible.

The Rural Development Organization

In the past, programs like the Village Aid Program, Basic Democracies System and the Agricultural Development Corporation were launched to involve the people in the development process through local government institutions. The programs suffered from heavy administrative control and non-involvement of the people in planning and implementing the rural development

activities. The Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP) was introduced in 1977 to develop all the sectors of the rural economy as the organic unit and involve the people in rural development activities. Like previous programs, it remained basically an official top-down activity. In 1977, it was merged with the People's Works Program under the name of the Rural Development Organization. This organization is essentially technocratic in spirit and nature. From the uniformity of the programs undertaken there appears little true reflection of people's participation which should result from a direct involvement of the people in designing and implementing the activities under this program. The Local Bodies Election was held in September, 1979, to get the program supported by democratic forms of organizations where people could articulate their views, involve themselves in planning and implementation of development activities at "the grass roots level".[52] The Rural Development Organization operates as a three-tier system: the Union Council, the markaz, and the District level. The markaz is the focus of all the activities being a project service center where the institutions could be physically located to link to the people in the surrounding production area as a focal point of distribution, service, and marketing activity. The District Level is for the purpose of planning, organizing and monitoring the implementation of various projects within the district. The responsibilities at the Union

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[52]Government of Pakistan, Pakistan: An official Handbook, 1978-79, "Local Government and Rural Development" (Islamabad, Government Printing Office, 1980), p. 43.

Council level have not been defined. Instead the activities at the village level are vaguely defined in terms of the cooperative societies providing a forum for discussing problems and needs and distributing loans.[53] The project manager is a paid public servant, appointed by provincial development authority. The chairmen of each cooperative society elect a chairman for their association who is supposed to initiate activities and see them through to conclusion.

The agropolitan approach to development, incorporating the ideas of self-management and basic needs, is a political and therefore a territorial conception. The administrative framework of the Rural Development Program could be retained generally to apply to the agropolitan model. However, the choice of the markaz as the focal point for organizing the rural development in the Punjab should be critically evaluated.

The Markaz Level Organization

The administrative organization at the markaz level has been discussed above and in chapter four. The immediate impression that one gets is that:

1) The organization is strictly a 'top-down' administration with the Punjab government appointed public servant as the project manager.

2) The people's participation is mere tokenism. The elected chairman of the cooperative societies is probably a

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[53]Salam, Rural Development and Local Level Planning in Pakistan, p. 14.

member of the rural elite. The data on the 1979 local bodies elected is not available but the past trend could be sufficient to assume this. In the first constituent assembly (1947-54), the landlords accounted for nearly sixty-five percent; in the second constituent assembly (1955-56) the percentage was seventy-four percent; in the election of April 1962, seventy-four percent returned to the national assembly were landlords. In the 1970 election many of the tenants voted for Bhutto[54], one of the biggest landlords in Pakistan, on the basis of his promises for land reforms.

3) The markaz is being treated as a 'growth pole' for the surrounding rural area. The commercial and industrial development of the markaz would convert it to an Agroville (service town) for the entire area. The trouble with this concept is that it has not worked in the past to spread the benefits of the development.

4) The markaz area comprises of about forty to fifty villages, and perhaps about 100,000 people. Given the inadequencies of the transportation and communication facilities, the markaz area constitutes a little too large unit for effective administration and to meet the primary and secondary needs of villagers.

5) In the Punjab there are 2,240 Union Councils for the rural area.[55] Each Union Council comprises of about ten

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[54]Richard F. Nyrop, et. al., Area Handbook for Pakistan, Foreign Area Studies of the American University (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 232.

[55]Pakistan: An Official Handbook 1978-81, p. 456.

villages. The responsibilities of the Union Council are not clearly defined in the Rural Development Organization.

THE AGROPOLITAN APPROACH

The national power structure is dominated by the bureaucracy, the military, and the landlords. The power structure at the provincial and local level is not very different from the national level. The village is divided into various economic and social classes/or strata. These strata are distinguished by certain characteristics such as wealth, prestige, and power. The elites maintain their power through the cultural values and the customs that envelop rural life. The power of the elite is broad in scope and stable overtime, exercised in the interest of the elite itself and affiliated with a national elite. The cliquish control through the biradaris (caste) is dominant and was further enhanced through the voluntary association with a cooperative group. The cooperative societies are adhoc functional groups which could seldom be credited with local representativesness. Whatever little benefits the IRDP confers, most likely these are being appropriated by the middle and upper classes.[56] One of the basic conditions for agropolitan development is the "equalization of access to the bases for the accumulation

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[56] M.A. Qadeer, "An Evaluation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme", Monographs in the Economics of Development, No. 19 (Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1977), p. 72.

of social power".[57] If the resources are distributed equally, there would be no strata, no classes. This utopian ideal is impossible to achieve. However, there are two options for overcoming the problem of unequal power in rural areas. The first one is to reduce the powers of the landlords through a land reform. The other one is through strengthening the community as an entity. This could be achieved by the establishment of local organizations responsible for the administration of the community, encouraging the use of local resources through the concept of self-help. The present focus of rural development, the markaz is not a viable unit as discussed earlier in this chapter. The markaz could be made compatible with the agropolitan district by limiting its area of jurisdiction to twenty villages or two Union Councils. The government of the Punjab started with nineteen centers. The ultimate objective is to have about 500 IRDP centers[58] in which case each markaz would comprise of four to five Union Councils. Although it looks much better than the present nineteen centers it is questionable whether the government would have the material and human resources to maintain the present model of the 'top-down' administrative and the rural 'growth-pole' approach of trying to create artificial centers of prosperity and development, an oasis in the desert. The two Union Councils would be a rather congenial community, having certain things

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[57] Friedmann and Weaver, Territory and Function, The Evolution of Regional Planning, p. 195.

[58] I.A. Imtiazi, "Rural Development Programs in Pakistan" in Rural Development in Pakistan, p. 68.

in common: economic interdependence, shared values, a means of communication, and a governmental structure. The primary objective of rural development or the agropolitan approach is to develop the basic unit of rural society, a village in the Punjab. The village government both contemporary, the village council and the traditional punchayat (seeking agreement through consulatation) system are heavily influenced by tradition, established client relationships, and socioeconomic class. Any departure from existing arrangements will be seen as a direct threat to the traditional authority and will be fiercely resisted. However, there is an utmost need to change this traditional hold and distribute power equally among landless labor, minorities, and possibly the women. The village council election should be held on a territorial and social class basis. The village might be divided into wards of about one thousand voters to elect one representative and one representative each for the landless and other minorities. This will provide a forum for 'have-nots' to sit at the same level with the landlords and decide for their welfare. The inter-community and intra-community competition and conflict among the groups for influence and resources would be a very healthy sign and good media to let everyone know their rights and obligations. The healthy competition would provide incentive to do things on a self-help basis instead of waiting for external help. In such an organization, there would probably be no need for the government appointed officials to manage the village level and the markaz organization. The elected official would be able to manage these. The government

may however, prescribe some procedures and methods to maintain records of proceedings, particularly earnings and expenditures. The bureaucrats and the experts would definately object to such an arrangement of giving administrative responsibility to incapable and inexperienced people. The answer to such an objection is that these people have been managing their lives and assets for centuries and surviving against all the odds of bureaucratic and elite pressure. Given the opportunity they will be able to manage their affairs well. They will be responsible to the electorate and could be thrown out of the office if the expectation of the people are not met. No doubt that in the beginning there would be some mistakes and misappropriation of funds, but the best way to build the capacity of the farmers is by encouraging them to assume major responsibility for planning and implementation.

The flow of vertical and horizontal communication between public and private organizations is vital. The delegates from each markaz should represent their interests. Planning and other technical personnel should be attached to the markaz and the village council in order to bring all possible formal knowledge to bear on their decisions. The technical persons drawn from the line departments of the provincial government agencies should have no voting power. They should be coopted only when their advice is required. The agropolitan units even though they are autonomous, are not sovereign units. They are part of the larger territorial system of the provincial and federal government and therefore should work within the broad developmental policies.

The equalization of access to social power is vital to agropolitan development. The above discussion focuses to a greater extent on the size and physical area and the number of elected representative representing the interest of those not so well off in the society. This increase would reduce elite control on the decision making institutions but their economic power, the control of the means of production, which in this case is the land, could heavily influence the decision making process through elected puppets. In order to safeguard against such possibilities there is need for economic diversity, industrialization, competition, and change in the structure of government. Economic Diversity could be achieved by encouraging the farmers in poultry and sheep farming. Small and poor soil holdings could be better utilized for such ventures and could be more productive. It would also solve the nutrition problem of the rural masses who at present can not afford meat and meat products. The Industrialization here means agrobased small industries which support the urban capital intensive industries. The cotton ginning, food processing, vegetable oil extraction, and canning could be some of the possible industries depending upon the produce in the area. These industries should be labor intensive to provide employment to the rural people. The artisans and craftsmen of the Punjab were famous in producing artifacts from wood, leather, wool, and clay. Taiwan and South-Korea are utilizing the techniques of their craftsmen to export. A little encouragement and standardization could revive these crafts.

The competition between the incumbent and aspirant for an elected position would encourage both to work for the betterment of their people. The competition in development of infrastructure and in other social and cultural activities make people proud to score better than the others. This intra and inter village or Union Council competition, would be a useful devise to accelerate the pace of development.

The structure of the government should be a council-manager form of government. The council should be the final decision maker on the most fundamental policy issues in the community. It should adopt the budget and pass the local laws. The council should also have a vital policy making role in developmental issues. The councils should be elected on the basis of the wards or the villages. The chairperson for the Village council, the Union council, and the markaz should be elected rather than appointed. Such structures provide more public accountability.

The stoppage of the leakage: the present system of banks being the branches to the national banks transfer the saving from the rural areas to the urban centers. Some system must be devised so that the savings generated in a territorial unit should be used for the development of that area.

The Role of the State

In social formations that are organized on the basis of agropolitan principles, the role of the state is at once protective, developmental, facilitative, regulatory, and redistributive. The protective role reflects the maintenance of the

territorial boundaries against external and internal threats. The developmental role refers to the coordination of the national and local government policies. The state facilitates through allocation of its own resources and regulates by maintaining the system of social relationships that will permit both change and growth to occur without excessive disruption of the system as a whole. And it is distributive in that it takes surplus resources from rich districts to enhance redevelopment possibilities in less favoured areas.[59] The government of the Punjab and the Federal government are aware of the problems in rural areas and are making efforts to play the roles efficiently. A glimpse of the Annual Development Program (1982-83) of the government of the Punjab justifies this statement. Out of the total envisaged expenditure, fifty-two percent has been made available to agriculture, education and health, while thirty percent of the total is provided for the rural development, urban development, water and communication. The main priorities in the agriculture section include village and tube well electrification, construction and repair of farm-to-market roads, improvement of water courses, and provision of inputs like seeds, and equipment such as lift pumps, diesel tubewells, and hand sprayers at subsidised rates. In the health sector, the emphasis is on the strengthening and expanding health services in the rural areas. Under the program, twenty rural health centers and two hundred and fifty basic health units would be completed during the year. The industrial

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[59]Friedmann and Weaver, Territory and Function, The Evolution of Regional Planning, p. 203.

sector has allocated sixty-four percent of its total allocation for the small industries corporation.[60] The allocation by the government has not produced the much desired results because of the lack of the coordination between the policies at the various levels of the government. Through the agropolitan approach of decentralizing the decision making procedure and reducing the power of the elite, it is hoped that more equitable quality of life could be achieved for the rural masses.

SUMMARY

For the past thirty-seven years the government of the Punjab has been making efforts to develop the rural areas and improve the quality of life for the people. The emphasis has been on economic development in general with a view that its effects would trickle down to the rural masses. The efforts have concentrated on the 'top-down' approach and the strong bureaucratic control on the decision making process and the methods of production. The Rural Development and the People Work program, although initiated to shift the power to the people, has not produced any tangible results because of the lack of democratic institutions and the diversity of the economic and social power. It is hoped that the agropolitan approach would be able to achieve the much sought egalitarian development by empowering the people to make decisions for their welfare.

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[60]Akhtar, Pakistan Year Book 1982-83, p. 358.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The bureaucratic control through synoptic planning has created an environment where the masses feel that the development is the sole responsibility of the government. The rural development programs implemented in the Punjab promised to involve the people in decision making process but the systematic exclusion of the masses have made them skeptical and suspicious of the government's efforts. The agropolitan model endeavours to change this attitude by allowing them to participate in their welfare.

The agropolitan model for the rural development in the Punjab is suggested for its emphasis on the importance of political decision making, governance, and management at the territorial level. By making these communities self-governing and the masters of their destiny, the confidence would develop in the people to handle things on their own i.e. on a self-help basis. They would not be looking for help from the provincial and the federal governments and grants to do even minor things like the upgrading of a road or the repair and maintenance of the school, hospital and any other such institution. The agropolitan model may not be economic development efficient but the basic requirement is not so much economic development but the development of social and political ability of the people to shoulder and share responsibilities. They are encouraged and required to be active members

in their communities by participation in decision making and implementation processes.

As earlier discussed, the bureaucracy and the rural elite are great hindrances in the reorganization and decentralization process. They are not going to give away easily. In the past they have resisted any such move saying it would result in deceleration in economic growth and administrative efficiency. Radical change in the system is neither possible nor desired. Instead of adopting a collision course, it would be better to take them along and reduce their political and economic power through incremental changes. The diversification of agriculture by introducing and encouraging the establishment of the livestock, sheep, poultry farming and agro based industries would reduce the dependence of the small farmers and the landless people on the landlord for their survival. The change in the election system of electing the representatives on a ward and minority basis would provide the opportunity for the less privileged to sit in the council (village or union) and defend their rights.

Land reforms although not a required ingredient for the agropolitan approach would definitely assist in providing the basic needs and establishing an egalitarian society. The author, therefore, suggests twenty-five acres of irrigated land and fifty acres of rain fed land as the ceiling for the individual land holdings.

The bureaucracy is the real rulers in the Punjab and Pakistan. Their position and status provides them with the opportunities to enrich themselves by accepting gratituty from

industrialists and landowners by extending favours. Occasionally the government owned lands are allocated to them for the outstanding service rendered to the nation. This mechanism of social mobility enlists them as a member of that class. The administrative bureaucracy has consolidated its hold because of the absence of democratic governments elected on the popular votes. Like the colonial powers, the government in Pakistan has used the administrative bureaucracy to control the people under the pretext of the maintenance of law and order. The suggestion by the author that the Union Councils and the markaz organization should not have any government-appointed civil servant would be the first step towards slacking the grip of the bureaucracy. The District Council may be a supervising authority but with only limited power to intervene in the affairs of the Union Councils and the markaz centers.

The Punjab, being the major source of human and economic resources in Pakistan, should provide a model for the development of the rural areas in other provinces. The economic development programs carried out in the Punjab have brought some utilities and facilities to the rural areas compared with the pre-independent Punjab. The economic development has not helped in bridging the gap between the rich and the poor. The rural masses are more dependent upon the socio-economic and political control of the urban people and the landed elites. The suggested model endeavors to evoke self-esteem and sence of responsibility. It would take some time before the psychologically crippled masses would be able to think and act independently from the

pressures of the landed elites. The process of independent elections and making the officials responsible to the people suggested by the author would bring about the desired changes. There is a definite possibility that the elites would influence the process to work in their favour by getting their loyals to be elected. Further studies are needed to find out the mechanism of the process and suggest solutions to reduce it.

The bureaucracy will not happily and willfully part away from the total administrative control and authority enjoyed by them now. They would pay lip service to such changes and may also participate in the process half-heartedly but they will try to block the process by emphasizing some real and imaginary problems. Some studies would be required to understand their techniques to overcome the possible hindrance.

The suggestion of creating a lot of semi-autonomous territorial jurisdictions might create the problem of territorial rivalaries and scuffles. Further studies would be needed to define their rights and obligations within the constitutional framework of the national and provincial governments.

Although the agropolitan model has been suggested to solve the problems created by the particular socio-economic and political conditions in the Punjab but the conditions in the other provinces of Pakistan and in many developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are not very different. The interested scholars from those areas should carry out similar studies to evolve solutions for their specific problems.

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A MODEL FOR EQUITABLE QUALITY OF LIFE IN THE RURAL PUNJAB: A REGIONAL APPROACH

by

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE MASTER'S THESIS

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ABSTRACT

This study has dealt with the problems of rural development in the rural Punjab. The major problems in the Punjab are: a) land tenure, b) the fragmentation of land holding, and c) local administration. These problems have generated some secondary problems which also need serious and simultaneous attention. These problems are: a) migration, b) the abatement of traditional crafts, and c) lack of infrastructure facilities. The remedy to these provide a proper context for rural development approach.

The first five chapters: the introduction; land tenure system and land reforms in the Punjab; administrative structure and rural development; rural development in the Punjab; and rural development theories and models, analyzed the past and present situations as indicated in the chapter titles. These chapters evaluated the past and present efforts of the public and private sector to develop socio-economic conditions in the rural Punjab.

The analysis of the various efforts to develop the Punjab has encouraged the author to advocate a planning model based on meeting the basic needs of the people. The chapter six, "Proposals For Rural Development in the Punjab" suggests a new planning and implementation strategy focussing on the utilization of indigenous resources.

The suggested land ownership reforms reducing the magnitude of individual and family holdings would reduce class differentials in the rural society. This could also create incentive for smaller families. Tenancy reforms, suggesting the extension of lease period from one year to five years, could provide financial security to the tenants encouraging hard work to get greater output from the land.

Administrative decentralization is suggested so that the Union Council and the markaz be a self-governing unit, responsible for the planning and implementation of the developing programs.

The major proposal is the agropolitan approach to the rural development, the village being the focus and recipient of development benefits. In order to involve less privileged people like the landless, artisans, and women, in the decision making process, the author suggests basing village council elections on wards as constituent units and guaranteeing minority representation in the councils. The inter-community and intra-community competition possibly generated by this system will provide incentive to accomplish things on a self-help basis, instead of waiting for external help. In such a system of the government at the 'grass-roots' level, there would be no need for the government appointed administratives. It is hoped that the mechanism would focus on agro-industries sealing the leakages of resources from rural to urban areas.

The role of the state in such a system would be regulatory and redistributive by coordinating the national and local government

policies. The government may prescribe some procedures and methods to maintain records of the proceedings, particularly on the budgeting side. The government should also encourage economic diversity by encouraging rural industries.

Chapter seven summarizes all proposals advocated in the study with conclusions and recommendations for further study.

Although, the implementation of these changes could generate some friction and bottlenecks, patience and tolerance should surmount these problems. The success of this model in the Punjab would provide a guideline for the development of rural areas in other provinces of Pakistan.